Annex "A," Subparagraph 1c, Sociological Background

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

161 Hungary is one of Europe's more densely populated countries and the most densely populated one in Central and Eastern Europe. The 1954 figures show a density of 271.6 per square mile against the European mean of 209.6 per square mile and the US mean of 49.1. Hungary's population density, for instance, is 150 per cent higher than Indiana's 108.7.

361 Settlement patterns in Hungary are quite varied and even more so are the settlement patterns of historic Hungary, where the geographical conditions were even more diversified than in the predominantly flat Hungary of today. The range of settlement patterns follows sometimes the topographical, sometimes the ethnic boundaries.

The majority of Magyars live in small, primarily agricultural, towns and villages. The overwhelmingly predominant settlement pattern of these rural areas is of the close variety; but, in an ever decreasing number, however, open settlements may also be found. These latter occur either as individual settlements (tanya) or loosely grouped settlements (szer).

The tanya, or individual agricultural settlement-- 361
historically the result of the Turkish occupation--consists of the farmhouse and outbuildings which are built on the farmer's land. The next tanya, built on neighboring property, is perhaps a walking distance of some fifteen minutes away. This pattern is common on the Great Plains, especially in the outskirts of cities. In the Nagy-Kúnság, Kis Kúnság and in the vicinity of the city of Kecskemét, the lonely tanya characterizes the landscape. There were more than 8,000 of them around Kecskemét, 9,000 around Szeged and 5,500 around Hódmezővásárhely in 1925.

The szer type of settlement--much more rare than the tanya--is met with in some isolated Transdanubian regions, mostly around Göcsej and Hetés (Zala county) and Alsóőrség and Felsőőrség (Vas county). In these hill countries, small groups of houses, called szer, are placed on neighboring hilltops, where five to ten szer constitute a village. These szer originally were inhabited by kinspeople, and in some cases this is still true.

The relatively greatest (23 per cent) percentage of Hungary's 361 162
population lives in towns of 1,000 to 3,000 inhabitants, medium size by Hungarian standards. The northern and eastern part of Transdanubia

and the eastern and southern part of the strip surrounding the Great Plains, including most of the Trans-Tisza region, are characterized by towns of this size, while 9.54 per cent of the country's inhabitants live in settlements smaller than 1,000 or on isolated farms. Such small villages appear only in some parts of the country, especially in the hilly regions of Zala and Vas counties and in the Mecsek, Mátra and Bükk mountains.[19]

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The layout of these small and medium sized towns follows different patterns. The geographical limits of the different types is difficult to establish, for many of them overlap; one could, however, generalize that Transdanubia and Upper Hungary feature towns with a main street ('market street') intersected by alleys and side-streets, having sometimes parallel streets also. The lots in such towns are oblong, with the shorter side facing the street; the houses themselves also face directly upon the street in an even row and, together with their fences in front, delimit the two sides of the street.

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The southernmost part of the Great Plains area is made up of settlements with a regular chess-board type of layout. These towns originated in their modern form after the expulsion of the

361 Turks, when the old devastated settlements were rebuilt mostly by German settlers.

The middle and northern part of the Alföld part of the Trans-Tisza region has developed a settlement pattern peculiar to Hungary. This is the tanyavárosok or kertesvárosok ('tanya-cities' or garden-cities') also called by geographers óriásfaluk ('giant-villages'), in German Dorfstadt. As their names reveal, these settlements consist of one-story houses spread over a large area--with thousands of tanya around them--and are rather overgrown rural centers than cities.

These towns originated during the Turkish occupation in regions not regularly occupied yet consistently being raided by the Turks. The already existing towns at that time had to build a circle of fortifications, and they sheltered a large number of refugees fleeing from the smaller settlements. After the withdrawal of the Turks, these overpopulated towns began to spread gradually in circles, most of their inhabitants building summer cottages out in the steppe, which later were to become the tanya. The result of this process was a round type of town (e.g. Jászapáti) with avenues radiating from the center and one or several circles of

boulevards. Other towns in the same region (e.g. Hajdúhadház) 361
acquired, under the influence of diagonally entering trade routes, a square or rather star-like shape, still with a set of avenues running in a radial direction even when not starting from the same central point. In some cases (e.g. Hajdúböszörmény) these two forms--the circle and star--have combined and the result is a somewhat confused street system.

The very existence of these huge farming centers, with 361
peasants generally better off economically than the small villagers, 474
makes them the object of peasant opposition. For this reason, the present regime has made serious efforts to transform them into the agrogoroda, so favored by the post-Malenkov regime, by compelling the inhabitants to join the State-sponsored kolkhozy and to centralize the local cooperatives in one agricultural super-unit. Purely agricultural towns by 1951 officially declared to be kolkhoz towns are: Cegléd, Mezőtúr, Kiskúnfélegyháza, Kisujszállás and Túrkeve.

To determine the extent of urbanization in Hungary is not 361
a simple task. Those who read Hungarian population statistics may 162
have the impression that the territory east of the Danube is more urban than Transdanubia. This is because few statistics ever

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162 separate the number of tanyaváros inhabitants who actually live within the regularly and closely built up area and those who live within the political limits of the city--a much larger number. Thus, the 1941 statistics show the following cities (only two of which are west of the Danube) with more than 50,000 inhabitants:

Nagy-Budapest	1,725,000
Szeged	130,752
Debrecen	125,933
Miskolc	109,433
Kecskemét	87,269
Pécs	73,000
Hódmezővásárhely	61,776
Nyiregyhaza	59,156
Győr	57,190
Békéscsaba	52,404

The latest available figures for the inhabitants of the built-up areas are from 1920. The proportions of the cities have changed little since then, so the following table may still be considered fairly accurate. In this table, based on O. A. Isbert's 1920 data (Ungarische Jahrbücher, Vol. 12, p. 264, Tabelle 2), Budapest, its suburbs and the cities of Upper Hungary are not listed:

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Left of the Danube		Right of the Danube	
Szeged	80,000	Győr	50,000
Debrecen	55,000	Pécs	43,600
Hódmezővásárhely	36,900	Szombathely	34,200
Kecskemét	35,500	Pozsony	32,500
Békéscsaba	31,300	Székesfehérvár	32,200
Makó	30,000	Nagykanizsa	29,500
Szolnok	27,900	Kaposvár	27,800

361 This table clearly shows that, numerically, the distribution of cities in the Great Plains and Transdanubia is about equal. But one should not forget either that the appearance of the cities on the two sides of the Danube are basically different. The Alföld towns, whatever their size, look like huge villages: the buildings--with the exception of a few public buildings in the middle of the city--are one-story constructions similar to the houses in the small villages; the streets are badly paved or perhaps not at all. On the other hand, the cities of Transdanubia are completely city-like.

369 The post-war years in Hungary have seen a continuation of the urbanization trend which has been in existence since the early time of industrialization. The emphasis of the Soviet Union on industrialization is well known. The goal of the Five Year Plan from 1949 to 1954 to reduce the percentage of the agricultural population from 52.7 per cent to 44 per cent was most likely achieved. These formerly rural people have probably been absorbed in industry and the state administrative offices. The same trend will certainly exist as long as the regime continues this policy.

000 or simple small wooden sticks.

291 The feminine headgear universally adopted in Hungary is a small shawl (<u>fejkendő</u>) knotted either under the chin or on the back of the head. The color, material, size and method of fastening the <u>fejkendő</u> change from region to region. This garment has recently appeared in the cities, too, because of its low price.

361 <u>Dwellings</u>. The Magyar villages consist of courtyards of either the linear or the grouped type. In the former, the living quarters and the outbuildings are built all in one row, either contiguously or else very close to each other; in a few cases they are placed under the same roof. In the grouped type, the buildings are spread out over the lot.

342 476 Even now the average Magyar peasant builds his own house, or at the very most, he may consult a more experienced fellow townsman. His relatives and neighbors seem always to be more than glad to volunteer for such works as transportation of the materials, covering of the roof, etc. This cooperative effort (<u>kaláka</u>, <u>segítség</u>, <u>kocsta</u>) often turns into a real festivity, with various ceremonies and joyful celebration.

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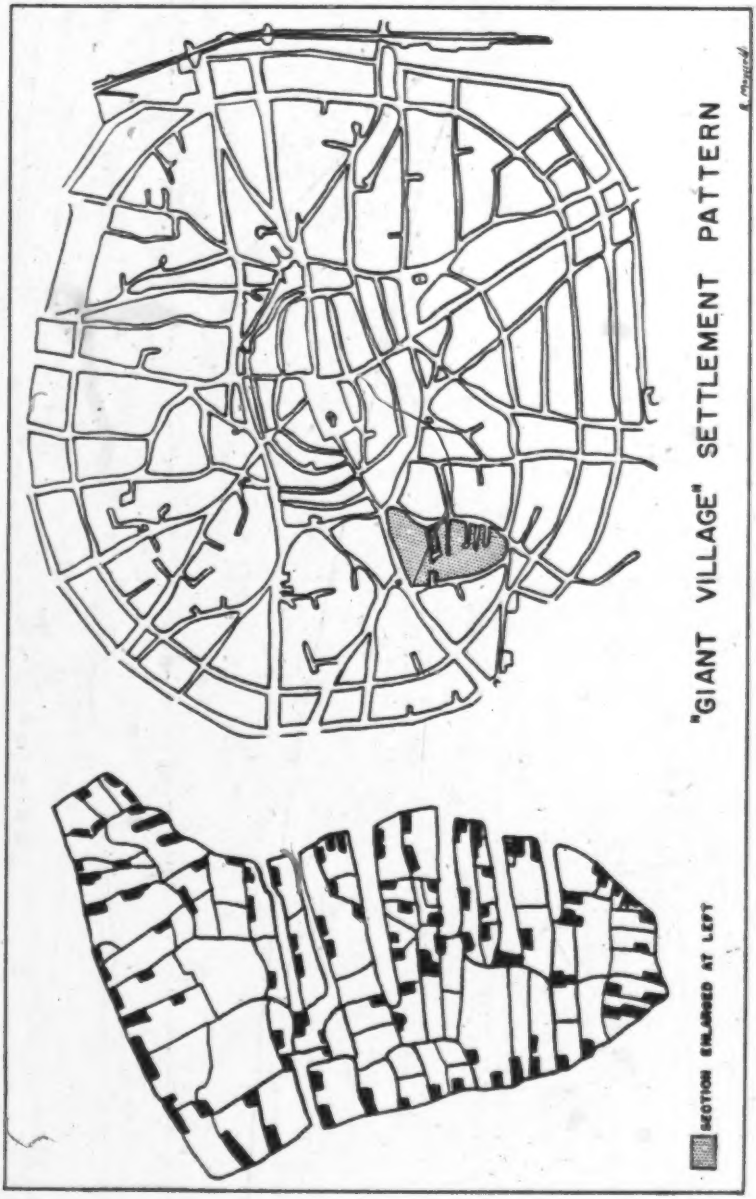
"GIANT VILLAGE" SETTLEMENT PATTERN
SECTION ENLARGED AT LEFT

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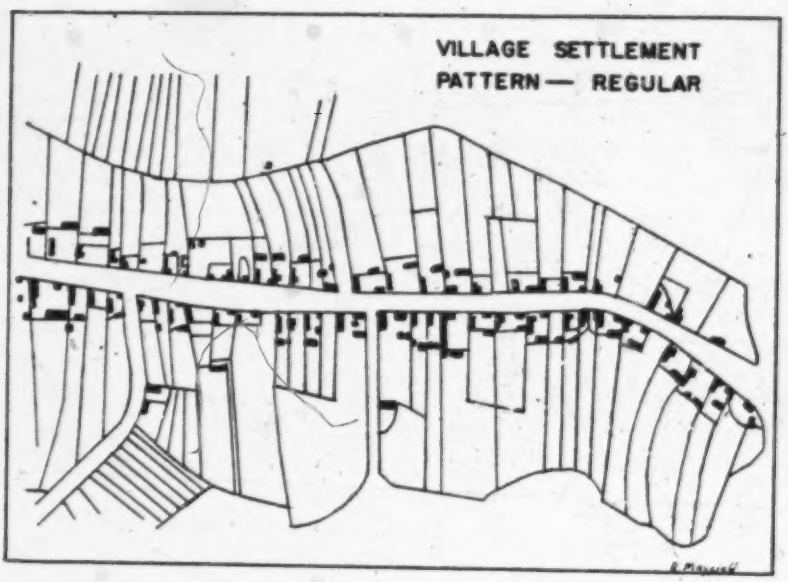

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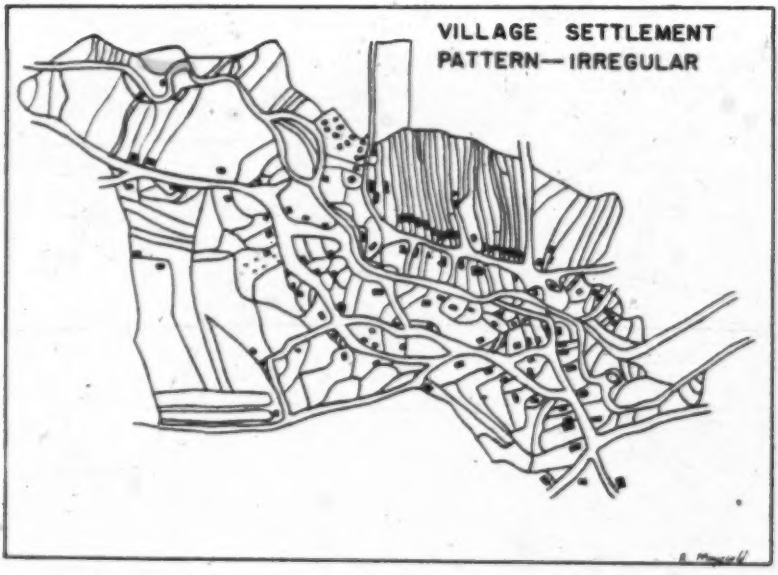

plentiful. This is not our *puszta*. We mean quite a different thing by it. There are the huge estates in the country of our lords. In the centre is the big manor-house with the great park. Behind the park are the houses of the overseers, then the big, beautiful stables and pigsties. Then come our huts—one-room huts, where generally two families live. Occasionally, when a pigsty is too old to be used, then we may get it, so that sometimes every family has a room of its own. This is good, for it is very difficult for more than ten people to live in the same hut. The women-folk quarrel. There are difficulties.

Well, anyhow, the complex of our huts, behind the park of the lord in the centre of the huge estate, is the *puszta*—our *puszta*. It is very far away from the villages where the free people live in well-ordered rows of houses. These villages are splendid and interesting places; they have shops, and people can even buy matches if they have the money. We borrow our fires from the upper-class people—let's say from the honourable wife of the estate-smith, if she is in a good mood.

We are not interesting people, we servants of the *puszta*. We do not know our number. But, as half the country of our lords belongs to big estates, you can imagine that we are many.

Sometimes we see picture books which one of the bright *puszta*-lads gets from the manor. There are books about the savages of Africa. There are no books about us.

Perhaps you will not mind if, before going on with our story, we tell you how we live now. We are so eager to talk, you know, if we think that someone may care to listen. Of course we complain. This is our fault. Serfs do complain if they are listened to. But perhaps it is worth your while to listen. Our life is quite as "quaint" and "different" as that of the New Guinea people.

Generally we get up at three o'clock in the morning. This is good, for at harvest-time we have to start work an hour earlier. There is, of course, always a great deal of work on the *puszta*. There are lots of animals: cows, oxen, horses, sheep, pigs, chickens. The stables and pigsties have to be cleaned, the big carts filled with manure, the cows fed and milked. Then, about half-past five in the morning, we can have our breakfast. In good times we have some warm soup—"lebbencs" soup. This is delicious. For a family of five you take an onion and a spoonful of pork-fat and cook it and throw in it little pieces of wheat-flakes. In every plate you get three, or even four, pieces of these flakes. But lebbencs-soup is quite exceptional. Generally we eat a chunk of bread, as big as our fist.

államföldrajzi kép /(The Picture of Political Geography)/. (Magyar 113
föld, Magyar faj) /(Hungarian soil, Hungarian race)/ I-III. k.)
Bpest, e. n. -- SZAMOTA-ZOLNAI, Magyar oklevélszótár /(Hungarian Document Register)/. Bpest, 1902-1906.

Our traditional ethnic groups and regions in the order of Dunántúl, Alföld, Felföld, Erdély are the following:

2. DUNÁNTÚL. -- Őrség. Historical formation. According to 101
tradition recorded as early as the thirteenth century, after the Hun- 361
garian conquest, border guards were settled on the Vas portion of the western border, ('határőrség', 'speculatores'; 1272-1331: spec. Ewr dictorum, 1451: In districtu Eorsegh in Com. Castriferrei OSz.). From the third decade of the fourteenth century it was 'őrnagyság', with Őriszentpéter as the center, and with Felsőőri Miklós as its first 'őrnagy /(major)/' (1497: Ewr Nogh OSz.). Its area consists of [131]
the upper valley of the Zala River and the middle valley of the Kerka River, which is encircled by the following villages: Szalafő, Ispánk, Szaknyér, Pankasz, Szata (Szatta), Kerkáskápolna, Szomoróc, Kapornak, Őrihodos; including these villages there is a total of 18. The guards had privileges similar to those of the Székelys, and their legal position seemed to be of equal rank with that of the nobility. Part of those who were guarding the region of Szalafő (whose old name 1364: Zalafewewr, 1392: zalaewr, MNy. IX, 149) became privately controlled, with the estate of Németújvár, as early as the fourteenth century. The privileges of the rest were confirmed as late as the sixteenth century. Later, these also became serfs. With parts of the Székelys this is the second group that settled [137]
an area characterized by pine forests. Its ethnography is identical with that of the Magyars living in nearby Hetés and Göcsej and in general in the Zala and Kerka valleys (Szalaság, -- 1526: Zalafagg Erdy-C. NYSz. --); more than one of its ethnographical characteristics is related to those of the nearby Wendic group (tótság).

The questions of the territorial connections of the military frontiers of Vas, naturally, must be omitted here, and we can touch merely upon the recorded groups. /4/

The second Magyar group of border guards is also located in Vas, in the area of Felsőőr which covers the valleys of the Pinka and Szék creeks, in the neighborhood of the other villages having 'őr' and 'lövő' in their names. The isolated group of the Magyar remnants of this island-like area consist of: Felsőőr, Alsóőr, and Őrsziget. We may add to them Kisjobbágyi, containing the Magyar

101 population of Jobbágyi (once also privileged), which has a German
361 majority (1496: Jobbagy Alsoewr Felseewr OSz.). As a result of its insular position, the region has abundant contacts with German influences; otherwise, it has ethnographical connections with the Magyars of Vas, Alsoorseg and Zala. The people, like the Szekelys, engage in domestic industries, and go 'down to Hungary' with their wares. -- Even in this there are a few differences between the Alszeg and Felszeg of Felsőőr. They are also split as to religious denominations.

Göcsej ('the Göcsej', Göcsejség, called jocularly: Cirgácia,
•361 1815: Kerkadia; 'mockingly': Gergatia, MNy. XIII, 303; in the
133 northern part of the Nova district frequently: 'szegek országa (the land of the nails)'; 1266 Egurzug, 1323: Piliskezeg OSz.) is an area without exact boundaries; including roughly the part of County Zala which falls between the Zala River, Principális-canal (Nagycsatorna, Válicka), Kerka River, and Dráva River. The villages themselves do not admit that they belong to the area, because they feel mockery in the word Göcsej or from Göcsej; therefore, according to them, Göcsej begins (everywhere) with the 'neighboring village'. Its villages with their poor streets (muddy) preserved many traditions.

Hetés constitutes a group in Göcsej's immediate neighborhood, which is ethnographically almost in every respect identical with the latter, lying between Göcsej, Őrség, and the Vendség.

[137] Hegyhát: between the Zala and Rába Rivers, and between Őrség and Kemenesalja, in Zala County, partly characterized by pine forests like Őrség, partly by beech forests, like Kemenesalja; together with the latter in the earlier period predominantly used for pasturing. It is joined by Kemenesalja, which possesses geographical traits identical to the northern part of Hegyhát; and is also related to it in natural features, but offers a better means of making a living.

Kemenesalja, a continuation of 'hegyhát' also in Vas County beginning approximately at Hegyhátgyertyános under the wooded ridge called Cser (one time obviously 'Kemenes'), between the Rába and Marcal Rivers; with its many villages is a group settled in the Marcal valley; in fact, the name is used to designate a geographical area or region. Its northernmost village, keeping the name of the area, is Kemenesszentpéter. Its most typical villages are located closely below the ridge; more exactly, these constitute the 'kemenesalja' settlements.

Sokoróalja, the flattened extensions of the low chain of hills which advance toward the Rába River with their wide valleys in Győr County, between the Bakony-ér Creek and the Marcal River; formerly a district of the county; in the immediate neighborhood of the plains of Győr /5/ and of the geographical area called Kis-Alföld in technical literature. 361 133

The Kis-Alföld--which has no traditional collective designation--constitutes in many respects a homogenous geographical area and ethnographical unit, which has been, in the past, divided by the Danube only as far as transportation is concerned. It is divided into smaller or larger geographical areas which also include ethnographical regions by its many rivers, river flats, marshes and swampy lakes--most of which are drained today. These areas are the following:

Rábaköz, surrounded by the Rába, Répce, Rábca (Hanság-canal) Rivers, is a part of Sopron County and in a smaller portion of Győr County; it was a governmental unit as early as the Middle Ages, called 'szék' ('sedes'). (1240: Rabakuz, 1381: in districtu Rabakuz OSz.) Before the rivers were controlled, in the north it faded into the Hanság. Its characteristic, centrally located village is Kapuvár, the 'kapu /(gate)/', 'kapuvár /(gate-fortress)/', of the once marshy border region. The name of its Győr County portion, which is the triangular area east of the line of the Lórét-canal is: Tóköz; and the area which was drained by the Lórét-canal and which was flooded in earlier times by the Rába is called: Lórét.

Hanság (according to local pronunciation Hany, Hanyság: 1584: han NyK. XXV, 166) is the marshy empire of the Ikva, Répce, and Rábca Rivers; a world of reeds and soggy meadows, with the typical geographical conditions and ethnographical picture characteristic of such areas, with limited farming and domestic industries. Its villages which at one time were surrounded by water ('hanyi') are: Kóny, Osli, Sövényháza, etc.

Fertő (Lake Fertő; around 1200: stagnum Fertew. OSz; 1317: lacum Ferthew CSÁNKI: III, 683) is a swampy lake region in Sopron and Moson Counties, its lake area today being restricted to a small portion of land and to certain periods. Above it is the plain of Moson; and in this plain between the Danube and Lajta Rivers (Lajta-köz) is Fenyér. (Old name of the Lajta River: Sár; 1415: fluvium Saarvize alio nomine Laytha OSz.)

● 361 23 Szigetköz (by its other name Kis-Csallóköz) is an island on the right side of the Old Danube surrounded by the Danube's Moson branch (locally called Kis-Duna) and the Öreg-Duna /(Old Danube)/. The part which falls on the side of Moson is called: Főltáj (according to local pronunciation Fótáj), that on the Győr side: Altáj.

Csallóköz (1334: Chorloukuz OSz.; also known as Aranykert /(Golden Garden)/ with reference perhaps to its gold-collecting population or to the fables mentioning its magic wealth of golden fruits; also known as Nagy-Csallóköz /(Great-Csallóköz)/ as opposed to Szigetköz which is also called Kis-Csallóköz /(Small Csallóköz)/; its name in the Middle Ages was 'Kis Pozsony Megye /(Little Pozsony County)/', 'comitatus minoris Posonii'); in the earlier days also a governmental, military, and nobiliary unit (1269: Challokewz NySz., 1355: /6/ In comitatu Choullowkuz, 1355: In provincia Cholloukuz, 1429: In districtu Challowkuz. OSz.); its Feltáj /(upper region)/ belonged in the past to the district of the fortress of Pozsony, its Altáj [631] /(lower region)/ in that of the fortress of Komárom; thus, its has two political subdivisions: the upper and lower districts of Csallóköz. It is an island-like area encircled by the Érsekujvári or Vág-Duna /(Vág-Danube)/ (Kis Duna/(Little Danube)/, which leaves the Old Danube at Pozsony, increases in size after uniting with the Vág River at Gúta, and rejoins the Old Danube at Komárom. In earlier times little streams and headlands divided it into numerous parts. Of these divisions Csilizköz is worth mentioning, it is encircled by the streamlet called Cziliz (today it is known as Csiliz Canal), which leaves the Old Danube at Baka and rejoins it at Kulcsod. Its name can be found in the name of the districts of Győr County (Tósziget-csilizköz), which is the governmental framework for three 'vizköz /(area surrounded by water)/' (Tóköz, Szigetköz, Csilizköz).

Turning back from the Danube in the direction of the central mountain range of the Dunántúl, we have to mention the areas which cannot be included in Kemenesalja. These are the Marcal region in the valley of the Marcal River and the western Bakonyalja /(lower Bakony)/, which consists of the portion of the Veszprém area sliced into two by the Bakony range that lies around Pápa.

Bakony (1193: Bokon MNy. XXIII, 566) is not only a geographical area--but, especially on a geographical basis, --also a historical formation. As early as the thirteenth century (even earlier, as a royal landhold) it became a separate ispánság /(smaller political unit)/, 'comitatus Bokoniensis', but not a county (1269: in comitatu Bokoniensi MNy. XXIII, 567). Here there is a chain group of

'szék-s' or 'noble villages' which were in the service of the king or in that of a bishopric, enjoying more or less privileges, such as the onetime Szék of Vecse ('sedes'), which included the villages of Vecse, Kisjenő, and Tapolcafő; the villages of Szentgál, Szentkirályszabadja, Vámos, Nemesszalók, Karakószörcsök, which preserved the traditions of the royal hunters, herdsmen, forest-rangers, and game wardens; the village of Tés with its island-like position today; and the villages of Dudar, Gyulafirátót, Nemesvita; and innumerable others belonging to the Bakony area from the Veszprém and Zala regions. Also, Bakonybél in the 'bel /(insides)/' of Bakony should not be forgotten. 361 133

East of the Bakony-Vértes-Gerecse mountain range we find the typical geographical region of Pilis, which once was a separate county (today it is united with the Counties of Pest, Solt, and Kiskunság). Its characteristic village is Pilismarót, now located in Esztergom County. -- According to its ethnographical appearance the Island of Szentendre (or Monostor), which is encircled by the Danube branches of Vác and Szentendre (Old Danube and and Little Danube) belongs to the Dunántúl territory with its villages of Ki-soroszi, Tótfalu, Pócsmegyer, and Szigetmonostor.

Vértesalja is the area between the valley of Mór (Sárviz) and the creek of Szentlászló, which flows toward the lake of Velence, with the city of Székesfehérvár in its southern corner.

/7/ Mezőföld is the area south of the above region, bound by the line of Sió-Balaton-Sárviz-Duna, which is separated from the Alföld not only by the Danube, but also by an embankment of fifty or sixty meters. Its most typical landscape and forms of life are to be found in the area of the Séd and Sárvize Rivers (1283: fluvium Saar prope Albam OSz.): the Sár, and along its upper portion in Sárrét, lying west from Székesfehérvár (in earlier days 'Sármellyék' (1356: Saarmellek OSz.); under this name it was part of a district of Fejér County). In line with these names we find a row of villages marked with the word 'sár' along the watery, an elongated area advancing toward the Sárköz of County Tolna, such as: Sárbogárd, Sárszentmiklós, Sáregres, Sárcece, Sárszentlőrinc, Sárpilis, etc.

Sárköz (Sárközség; 1521: Sarkez; in 1459, and also earlier in the papal tax-assessment record; in this period also the name of a deanery; PESTY, Az elt. régi várm., 225); lies on the lower section of the Sárvize, in Tolna County. The Kalocsa-Baja portion of the Danube is here swelled by the waters of the Sió, the Koppány, and

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133 the Kapos; and along its right bank the winding river formed a region broken by innumerable streamlets, backwaters, 'little-Danubes', constituting an extensive, muddy 'Vizköz /(area surrounded by water)/', which existed until not too long ago. On the west it has a distinct boundary in the hill range of Szekszárd-Báta. The Danube--in earlier times was not even suitable for a political boundary line, especially, as its left bank was the same type of 'sárköz /(muddy region)/' as the Tolna portion; (we will discuss [162] this later). The typical ethnic groups of the Sárköz of County Tolna are the inhabitants of: Öcsény, Decs, Sárpilis, Alsónyék, Báta. The onetime life pattern of this region has lived only in tradition ever since the time when the waters were channeled.

Völgység, in the neighborhood of Sárköz and Mezőföld, in the bend of the Kapos and Sárviz rivers, bound by the two, constitutes, also, a political unit--as the District of Tolna.

The Mecsek region, a continuation of the area to the south, lies in Baranya County, with numerous Magyar villages guarding many ancient customs. Some of the villages are Hosszúhetény, Zengővárkony, Mánfa, Budafa, etc.

Ormányság (Ormánság, 1257: inter Drawam et Vrman CSÁNKI, II. 520), in Baranya County, lies, according to a description from about a hundred years ago, 'from the bridge of Lak in the outskirts of Kémes to the tip of the County, to the village of Bogdása on the Dráva River', and includes 22 Magyar and once Croatian (Sztára) village. Between the Villány Mountain and the Dráva River, covering the drainage area of the Feketeviz and Okor streams, the region consists of a chain of singularly typical small areas encircled by water, which in earlier days were covered with forests; and therefore, it has many smaller units ('vizköz'); and formerly it had even more. Ormánykőz, Bőköz, Okorvidek (1267: in districtu Ormankuz CSANKI, II, 533, MNy. XXV, 24; 1494-9: Poss. Beulkewz CSANKI, II, 472; 1183: iuxta Okur /8/ CSÁNKI, II, 512.). The region of Dráva-Dunaszög is called: the Alvidék. (Other names: KISS, Ormányság, 10.1.).

Somogy (Somogyság, Somogyország, 1055: Sumig NyK. XXV, 142, Somogyság ÉRDY C. MNy. XXII, 187) this territory is divided into two parts by geography and ethnography. Belső-Somogy /(Inner-Somogy)/: The southern part of the county, also separated politically, comprises the area of the districts of Kaposvár, Szigetvár, Nagyatád,

and Csurgó, lying south of the Kapos River. Külső-Somogy /(Outer-Somogy)/ is the rest of the county. Roughly, the line drawn between Dombóvár-Kaposvár-Nagykanizsa may be considered the dividing boundary between the two. It has two ethnographically typical areas worthy of mentioning: the hilly country south of the Kapos River, the Zselic (Zsilic, Zelicség); and the neighboring villages of Buzsák, Tótszentpál, and Varjaskér, which are of Slovak origin, located just behind Nagyberek on Lake Balaton in the Lengyeltót District in the neighborhood of other villages of similar or of Southern Slavic origin. The most characteristic Magyar villages of the two different areas are: Kiliti, Szenna, Csökőly, Csurgó, Iharosberény, etc. 361 133

The great water area of Lake Balaton, especially in earlier times, created a peculiar brand of coastal and aquatic life and joined the inhabitants of the two shores, which in many respects differ remarkably from each other geographically into a similar life and cultural pattern. The people name their shore-lines after areas of political subdivisions: Somogy, Szala, Veszprém side. (The Balatonfelvidék /(Balaton highland)/ name of the northern shore has literary origin.)

In close connection and in a related form of culture with the people of the Southern Dunántúl live, close to each other, the inhabitants of three Magyar villages located on the other side of the Drava River (Szlavonia): In Szerém County, Kórógy; in Verőce County, Haraszti and Szentlászló; all three of them were built in the flats of the Vuka River, which has been regulated since; (Haraszti's position today is its third--because of the water). According to their tradition, they settled here at the time of the Tartar invasion of Hungary (in 1242). They were serfs of the freehold estate of Vukovár. All of them belong to the Reformed Church. The fourth Magyar village of Slavonia is Rétfala, near Eszék, the population is mixed, there are Serbian, Croatian, German, Czech, and Slovak inhabitants. The Magyar inhabitants of the four villages are called mockingly 'brendzó' ('brencó', 'berencó') by the people of Baranya. The local nicknames of the people of Szentlászló are 'bohó', 'puzás', 'taporcai;' that of the people of Haraszti, 'bóbac'; the inhabitants of Rétfalu are also called 'puzás The inhabitants of these villages call the people of Baranya and Bácska by these three names. 361 101

the Magyars of the Felsoor Area)/. Földr. Közl. 1926. 00C 361

3. ALFÖLD. -- The greater part of the Alföld is an area divested of its original settlemental, economical, political, and geographical (topographical) character, with a population mixed by need or consciously, as a result of the Turkish occupation of Hungary /(in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries)/ and its consequences. Up to 1669 -- acording to a census from that period--already about 900 villages had become deserted. Its geographical characteristics (its flatness, level surface) were from the earliest times little suited to the formation of distinctly separable ethnic groups. When its inhabitants resettled, or wandered, 'ran away', sneaked away, or stayed accidentally and without intention in the same place, all these actions did not serve the purpose of preserving traditional forms. Fragments of such forms were left behind only in places which were protected by watery regions at the times of historical upheavals, but even there they were often disturbed by boundaries of political subdivisions. On the other hand, the new formations--almost from their beginnings--may be studied from their birth, in the process of development; and we can observe the life of ethnic signs in the process of their friction and integration with each other.

Not even the word Alföld is traditional; as a technical term of geographical science it is a young creation. In earlier times it designated the area which lay 'downwards' from the governmental center, that is to the south of it, with a changing quality as to its meaning /10/ (1808: 'pars inferior regni'; 1242: Olfeld (Zsupánság of Bosnia; Dolni Kraj); 1526: The Alffelden at the Dwna; Erdy C. NySz. --1578: Alpheody, 1590: Alfeöld MNy. II, 122). After the Turkish occupation the Alföld was given the name Puszta, which is to be found today in so many village names of the area. The word 'puszta' originally designated the deserted area of the destroyed place (village) (--may be found in other places in the land, for example: in Transylvania: Pusztakamarás--); on the Alföld Tetétlen-puszta, Tázlár-puszta, Kölesér-puszta, formerly Puszta-Tetétlen, Puszta-Tázlár, etc.; (as early as the Middle Ages: 1384: Pusztascentmihal, 1468: Banpwztha OSz.; In Transylvania in 1421: Pwztakamaras CSÁNKI, V. 395), just like Pusztapó today (Puszta-Pó); designates the deserted areas of the destroyed villages of Tetétlen, Tázlár, Kölesér, Pata, and Pó. In their places there

361 developed either central units of large agricultural estates ('pusztak' with a population of hired farm laborers), or--using the term popular in the southern Alföld--szállás--or the term popular in other parts, and adopted more generally--tanya-communities, which came into being partly under the protection and government of the cities which were not destroyed, behind the walls of which the population of the nearby villages took refuge (during the Turkish occupation, more than once, during a single night). In this way some of the villages, earlier of an urban character, grew into agricultural 'peasant' cities covering immense areas (Kecskemét, Szeged, Szabadka, Hódmezővásárhely, Debrecen, etc.); all of which, closed into a tremendous 'pusztagyepu /(surrounding puszta region)/; consider themselves separate ethnic units (for expl. Debrecen 'within Basahalom'); and in most of the cases they actually constitute such units. (There are examples in the past of their joining together: Cegléd, Kecskemét, Nagykörös: the 'Three cities').

The largest such 'pusztaság' was, as late as the second half of the last century, an area south from the Budapest-Cegléd line, approximately extending to Halas between the Danube and Tisza Rivers, and consisting of 2500 km.^{2}; the passable sandy surface of which served as one of the main routes of traffic between Vienna, Buda, and Belgrad, during the Turkish occupation, and even later. The foreign traveler was amazed to see the endless 'Puszta' scene and the economic form of life the backbone of which was nomadic animal husbandry. This explains the sixteenth century meaning of the word 'from the Alföld', which uses the terms alfeoldy, alpheod, 'ochsenhandelsleut', to designate those "who drive cattle from the Alfeold and the land of the pagans", or in other words 'hajtók /(drivers)/'.

133 From the great uniformity of the Alföld two considerable sandy elevations rise above the average level; one, (called by its partial name) the Homokság, lies between the Danube and the Tisza Rivers, extending from the Budapest-Cegléd line to the Ferenc Canal; the other is the Nyirség which rises from the lowlands of the Tisza-Szamos-Kraszna-Ér-Berettyó-Hortobágy Rivers. /11/ The position of these elevations and the surrounding lowlands and their relations to the encircling and traversing rivers influenced the development of characteristic geographical regions, and economical, political, and in general historical ethnic units; independently from them similar groups came into being around the Tisza, Berettyó, Körös, and Maros Rivers.

and Maros Rivers.

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To turn our attention to the particular regions, areas, and ethnic groups: the best crossing place from the Dunántúl is the Sárköz region of Tolna, which has a complementary part, forming one unit with it, on the left bank of the Danube. Its name is also identical, it is called: Sárköz. During the Middle Ages--partly--this region was situated on the right bank of the Danube and belonged to Tolna County; just before the Turkish conquest of Hungary the villages of Csanád, Sükösd, Kákony, Szentistván, Istvánmegye, and Szeremle, which used to belong to Pest County, and today belong to it only partly, --belonged to Bodrog County. -- According to the papal land assessment register, one of the archdeaneries of the Archbishopric of Kalocsa was situated in 'Sárköz'; in the fifteenth century the Fajsz branch of the Abbacy of Szekszárd (Fajsz today is on the left bank of the Danube) was also situated in 'Sárköz'; and Szakmár, about fifteen kilometers east of the Danube, belonged to this. The village of Szanto of County Bodrog was also in 'Sárköz' before the Turkish conquest. These facts--which in general show the historical role played by bodies of water--serve as proof of the role of the Danube and other lowland rivers as a divider or unifier of areas.

Ethnographically we may add to Sárköz the villages of the triangle between Dunapataj-Kiskörös-Baja and the Danube typical of which are: Bogyiszló É sekcsanád, Bajaszentistván, Szeremle. The scenery is also peculiar; there is abundant vegetation of a meadow character called 'turján' ('turjány').

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Above Sárköz, between the sandy region and the Danube, as a continuation of the formerly discussed geographical and ethnographical region, from Sárköz to Dömsöd extend the marshy grasslands, turjans of the onetime Solt (Zsolt) County (later district), consisting roughly of todays Rackeve and Dunavecse districts; an area in the hiding places of which the more fortunate portion of the population was able to stay during the Turkish occupation, like the inhabitants of Pereg, Dömsöd, Dab, Tass, Szalkszentmárton, Dunavecse, Solt Dunapataj, Ordas. The Zsolt area was, during the Middle Ages, a thickly populated part of Fejér County.

In that part of the area between the Danube and Tisza Rivers, which lies to the south from Sárköz, we mention Bács County, named after the once existent Bács city, which is known more commonly as: Bácska (Bácskaság). During the Turkish occupation its Magyar population perished completely. The same fate was

●361 101 shared by the area south of the Maros River, /12/ which was known under the names Torontál, Temes, Krassó-Szörény Counties, and after the liberation from the Turkish rule as Bánság (Bánát, 'Banatus': 1716: Banatus Temesiensis, 1748: Temesvári Bánát MNy. XI, 39). Its settlement was only partly done by Magyar settlers from different parts of the country. For this reason, almost everyone of its villages constitutes a separate ethnic unit. As an example we mention Bácska. The settlement of the Magyars here took about a hundred years, more precisely between 1733-1820. Their greater number came from the Catholic population of Tolna, Baranya, Veszprém, Somogy, Zala; and a smaller part came from that of Pest, Heves, Nógrád, and the Jászság. During the period of Josef II, a few Reformed villages were also settled; at this time Reformed Magyars from Kunhegyes and Tiszabura settled in Feketehegy; from Tiszaroff and Tiszaderzs in Piros; from Nagykunság, Jászkisér, and Törökszentmiklós in Tetetlen, Kossuthfalva, and Pacsér. Similarly, in Torontál a total of 40 villages were populated by Magyars coming from different places. Its youngest settlement is Sándoregyháza, populated by Csangos /(Hungarian speaking natives of Moldavia)/ from Bukovina. There are similar sporadic settlements north of the Maros River.

The barren Homok /(sand)/ which extends south of Kecskemét to the border of the county, --especially since Petőfi--is identified in literature and in the popular mind with the concept of the Kis-Kunság /(Little Cumania)/. Actually, the latter would be an easily separable and determinable political unit, a privileged group which remained in its place since the Tartar conquest, and consequently, a peculiar ethnographical unit, if it had not shared the fate of the whole area between the Danube and Tisza Rivers (with the exception of the above mentioned watery regions: the people of Sárköz, of Zsolt, and perhaps, also, those of the similarly isolated Izsák). Thus, those who shared a typical fate are not the latter, but, for example, Kiskőrös, which was resettled from the Slovak population of Nógrád, Hont, Nyitra, and Túróc, --or Prónayfalva, --which was established on the area of the pusztas of the Cumanian Tázlár, Harka, Kötöny, and Halas, its population coming from numerous counties and villages, the exact origin of which is impossible to determine. Only four privileged Little Cumanian villages survived the Turkish occupation: Lacháza, Szentmiklós, Szabadszállás, and Fülöpszállás, which were built in a more isolated watery area, similar to that of Zsolt.

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The mass settlement of the Jász-Kuns /(Jazygian Cumanians)/ (1297: Stephani dicti Kun, 1503: Johannes Kyskun; 1349: Stephano dicto Jaz OSz.) between the rivers Danube and Tisza, Körös and Maros, and Maros and Temes occurred in the thirteenth century; the form of their self-governing organization was the 'szék /(chair)/'; they had seven széks: 'Hontos', Mizse, Kecskemét, Halas, 'Zentelt', Kobász, and Berény. Later from these the three Jász-kun areas developed: /13/ Jászság /(Jazygia)/, Nagy-Kunság /(Great Cumania)/, and Kis-Kunság /(Little Cumania)/ (1808: Jászság, Nagy, Kunság, Kis Kunság, LIPSZKY, Tabula generalis regni Hung., etc.). The latter, for example, was formed from the Széks of Kecskemét, Mizse, and Halas. -- When looking at the more stabilized conditions which are of more ethnographical interest, we find in the beginning of the nineteenth century the following Jász-kun villages: -- 1. Those in the Jászság: Jászberény, Jászapáti, Árokszállás, Fénszaru, Alsószentgyörgy, Dózsa, Jákóhalma, Mihálytelek, Jászladány, Jászkisér, Négyszállás, Ágó, Boldogháza (in more detail, and with contemporary spelling: HORVATH, P., Commentatio de Initiis et Majoribus Jazygum etc. 1801.); -- 2. Those in the Nagykunság: Karcagujszállás, Kunmadaras, Kunhegyes, Kisujszállás, Kunszentmárton, Túrkeve; -- 3. Those in the Kiskunság: Halas, Kiskunfélegyháza, Kunszentmiklós, Lacháza, Szabadszállas, Fülöpszállás, Dorozsma, Majsa; each district or the villages (cities) have, also, extensive pusztas, which actually are areas annexed from the villages destroyed in the past. In the nineteenth century certain thickly populated villages were entirely resettled and lost their original characteristics, like Kunszentmárton, Dorozsma, Kiskunfélegyháza, etc. From the middle of the eighteenth century (from 1745) only the 'redemptus' is legally a Jazygian Cumanian; in other words, only those who contributed to the redemption ('redemptio') of Jász-Kunság, which was mortgaged to a German order of knights in 1703. They were the true citizens of Kunság and Jászság, and the possessors of commonage and autonomy privileges. The tripartite Jászkun district was absorbed into Pest-Pilis-Solt-and Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok Counties during the general reorganization of counties in the 1870's. These are the 'must counties'. The prolific and astute Jasygians sent their settlers into the region between the Danube and the Tisza rivers, across the Tisza River, into Nagykunság, into Szolnok County, and into the Bácska

• 361 (into the latter there was influx, also, from Nagykunság). In the
101 northern part of Pest County, merged with the Palots, their presence can also be found. A characteristic village of this type is Boldog, which is in the immediate neighborhood of Jászság. The Jazygians and Cumanians are also divided with respect to religious denominations: the Jazygians are Roman Catholics (with the exception of the village of Jászkisér), the Cumanians are Reformed; they learned the Magyar language, also, from different national groups, as their present dialect leads us to conclude; the type of land they are settled on differs also: Jászság and Kiskunság is settled on sand, while the Nagykunság established themselves on firm soil.

The Cumanians of Nagykunság are in a close ethnographical relationship with Hajduság (group of Hajdus), a group developed in more recent history with historical privileges, in today's Hajdu, Bihar, and Szabolcs Counties. The six independent Hajdu cities of the later period constituted autonomous units similar to the Kun territories /14/ since 1791, when they were, through an act of the lawmakers, taken from under the authority of the counties. They retained their independent character until the reorganization of the counties in the 1870's. The six cities--represent the most characteristic Hajduság--: Böszörmeny, Szoboszló, Nánás, Hadház, Dorog, and Vámospércs (in today's Hajdu County).

A substantial number of the Hajdus came from the members of the above mentioned alfeödy ('ochsenhandelsleut') 'hajtó /(driver)/' profession, who joined the armies of the princes of Transylvania to fight against Vienna for national and religious freedom (1500-1510: Hajdo Barlobas OSz.; 1584: Hajdones . . . pedestris ordinis milites NySz.). The first Hajdu privilege was created in 1605 when Prince BOCSKAY rewarded more than 9000 of his Hajdu warriors by raising them collectively to the rank of nobles and deeded to them the city of Kálló; the pusztas of Nánás, Dorog, and Varjas; the estates of Hadház, Vámos, Pércs, Sima, and Vid; and in 1606, also the city of Szoboszló. Similar noble Hajdus were settled in the following villages of Bihar County: Szalonta (Kőlesér), Ürögd, Szentmárton, Tamási, Harsány, Kőrösszeg, Komádi, Vekerd, Sas, Régen, Félegyháza, Bagamér, Mikepércs, Bagos, Konyár, Derecske, Herpály, Berettyóújfalu, Kaba, Sáránd, Tépe. In 1609 the Hajdus of Kálló in exchange for Kálló received the villages of Böszörmény and Pród. Sarkad received its Hajdu independence in 1644, and there

• 31 were a few more Hajdu settlements in other regions, too. After
101 the reannexation of Transylvania, the privileges of those who received them collectively and not individually were not recognized by the Chamber; and almost all the remaining villages became privately owned; as a consequence, serfs of a different origin, also, settled among their population. These were mostly Roman Catholics; thus, in the territory of the Reformed Hajdus and in general in the area on the other side of the Tisza River, religious denomination is also an ethnic sign (similarly in Kiskunság). Those belonging to the Reformed Church are the more free, older, more strongly rooted Magyars. According to this twofold origin, for instance, Berettyódjfalu has two 'szer': its Hajduszer and Parasztszer /(Peasant szer)/.

31 The settlement of the Hajdus on waste 'sand' and 'fen' appears
101 to be a repetition of the first settlement of the Jazygian-Cumanians.
133 Both of them were warlike peoples, engaged in nomadic animal husbandry. Part of the Hajdus settled in the region known as the two Sárréts (by its old name: 1615: Rétköz MNy. IX, 223), an area of marshes and reeds, where they established themselves among the swamps, canals, streamlets, hidden meadows, 'balkány'-s, many 'islets', and 'ormágy'-s, and higher land. Its geographical position formed and preserved the life pattern and ethnographical characteristics of the inhabitants of the region, including that of the non-Hajdus who settled there later. Originally Sárrét was part of the flats of the Ér, Berettyó, Sebes-Kőrös, Fekete-Kőrös Rivers /15/ (before the river was channelled). Its major part (in the area where Bihar, Békés, and Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok Counties meet) is called Nagy-Sárrét /(Great Sarret)/ Sárret of the Berettyó; its minor portion on the flatlands of the Sebes and Fekete-Kőrös Rivers in the Bihar-Békés area is called Kis-Sárrét /(Little Sarret)/ (Sárrét of Bihar; in earlier periods also a district of Bihar County: the Sárrét District). Nagy-Sárrét had additional abundant water supply from the Hortobágy River, which brought the floodwaters of the Tisza River. All this, in the recent past, constituted the world of the people of the meadows, the fishermen, and the nomadic herdsmen.

31 Adjacent to Sárrét is the Hortobágy melléke /(Hortobagy
133 region)/ of a higher elevation (according to local pronunciation Hortobágy mejjike, its literary name 'Hortobágy puszta'), a region

left barren by deserted villages (Ohát, Zám, Máta, etc.), which 361 ●
was mostly incorporated by Debrecen, the 'civis city', the city of 133
'civis citizens', by its nickname the Calvinistic Rome', which in itself forms a distinctly characteristic unit. The area is one of the few remaining refuges of extensive nomadic animal husbandry.

The hill country between the Ér and Berettyó Rivers is called: Érmellék; it is an important wine district, extending from the Szalacs-Margita line to Félegyház. The area between the hills of Érmellek and the Réz Mountain surrounding the Berettyó River, extending as far as Bihar village, or the Kösmő Creek, belongs in another class of topographical types, and it is called Hegyköz.

The Ér, Tur, Szamos, and Tisza Rivers, according to the terminology used in the Upper-Tisza region, have 'hátjai /(backs)/', with rows of villages, which are held by the waters 'on their backs', They are not hills, not even mounds, merely the banks of the river at the edge of the flats; sometimes they are not even near the river; (Szentmihály on the 'tiszahát' is about eight kilometers away from the nearest bend of the Tisza River). This row of villages by the water and the general areas are called: Érhát, Turhát, Szamoshát, Tiszahát (1307: Er prope Diozeg OSz., as to creation of names: 1109: Érhat OSz.). There is a Tiszahát of Szatmár, of Bereg, of Szabolcs. The latter, for example, on the basis of local observation (on the left bank) includes the following villages: Tiszaeszlár, Tiszalök, Tiszabüd, Szentmihály, Tiszadada, Tiszadob, Tiszapolgár; (on the right bank): Tiszaladány, Tardos, Csobaj, Baj, Taktakenéz, Prügy (in earlier days called Pthrügy, according to local pronunciation: Tügy). The whole group of the latter villages is known as the Taktaköz, an island-like area encircled by the so-called Takta, which actually is a branch of the Tisza River. It neighbors on the area between the Sajó River and the Takta, and is encircled by the Zemplén bend of the Sajó, called Harangod. The villages of this area, the Taktaköz, and the village of Tiszapolgár show many typical characteristics of the Felföld and its Palots groups.

/16/ At two places in the abundantly watered area of the Ér, Kraszna, Szamos, Tur, Borsova, and Latorca Rivers permanent and substantial bodies of water accumulated; these two are the Ecsedi-láp /(Moor of Ecsed)/ by its local name: Rét, and the Szernye (Swamp). The former is a moorland, situated on the left bank of the Szamos River, extending to the more elevated parts of the sandy

•361 areas of Nyir, which provided a peculiar form of marsh and meadow
133 life to the about twenty villages which settled down around it (before the water regulations). Its northern part between Mátészalka, Kocsord, Győrtelek, and Nagyecsed is known as the Kis-láp /(Little Moor)/; the rest is the Nagy-láp /(Great Moor)/.

The region between the Tisza and Szamos Rivers has been known since early times as Szamosköz (not so long ago one of the districts of Szatmár County had the same name: Szamosköz District; the area between the Szamos and Kraszna Rivers was the Krasznaközi District).

We have to mention two more of the larger in-between water areas in the Tisza region which surround, together with the above mentioned regions, the great sandy elevation of Nyir. One of them is Rétköz situated north of the sandy elevation of Szabolcs, between the Lónyay-canal and the Tisza River, having been at onetime the meeting place of the floodwaters of the Tisza and those of the Nyirség region. The other is Bodrogköz, bound by the Latorca, Bodrog, and Tisza Rivers (1456: Thyzabodrogkez OSz.) its Tisza area (from Cigánd downwards) is called Hosszúrét, and it is sparsely populated.

Surrounded by the above mentioned watery regions rises a sandy plain, with smaller and larger bodies of accumulated water, at one time white with birch forests, mainly a part of Szabolcs County, and in a smaller portion part of Hajdu, Bihar, and Szatmár Counties, called Nyir (Nyirség, Nyirvidék), which was known under this same name in the Middle Ages as a singular unit 'partes', 'provincia', 'comitatus' (around 1200: A siluis Nyr, Per partes Nyr Osz.), next to Rétköz, with 'Nyir egyháza /(Nyir one house)/' in its center. Because of its sands it is an area more easily accessible to mounted armies than the surrounding marshy regions and, as a result, it suffered more destruction. The city of Nyiregyháza itself, for instance, in 1707 had only 49 'külön kenyeres ember /(man of independent bread)/'; it gained in population in 1753 by the influx of Slovaks from the region of Szarvas, Csaba, Mezőberény, and Orosháza, whose descendants are the 'Tirpák'. Of the 'Nyir /(Birch)/' itself hardly anything was left; and with it disappeared the domestic industry of birch-oil, birch-balsam, birch-brandy, birch-broom, and birch-hoop, and many other characteristics of the old 'Nyir'.

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361 These areas of the Upper-Tisza region were originally surrounded on the north and east and from the direction of the slopes of the Transylvanian Central Mountains by extensive forests. Such forest regions were represented by the once existent Erdőhát between the Kőrös Rivers; the Belényes region of the onetime 'bölényes /(of the buffalos)/' forest in the valley of the Fekete-Kőrös River with its Magyars of a peculiar appearance /17/(whose forefathers, according to tradition, 'came from the land of the Székely'); Szilágyság, situated behind Érmellék; Bükkalja of the Szamos region of Szatmár County; Avasság below and between the Avas Mountain; Tiszavölgy of Máramaros County (even today this is a major timbering area); Bereg itself (in the Middle Ages Beruk, 'Berek'); and most of all the Erdő /(forest)/ which lent its name to Erdély /(Transylvania)/. According to literary tradition, this 'erdő /(forest)/' would be the Szilágyság. Szilágyság (around 1200: Zyloc Anon.) extends roughly over the area of the present Szilágy County; in the past, one part of it belonged to Közép-Szolnok County, and that part, known as the Kővár region, became an independent governmental unit, remaining such until the reorganization of the counties in the 1870's. The name 'Sylvania' given to Szilágyság, from which, it is said, Erdély received its Latin name of 'Ultrasylvania' or 'Transylvania' is probably the product of humanistic etymology. Szilágyság always was, and still is, an area the boundaries of which cannot be precisely drawn. At times it has been a part of Transylvania, and according to the present governmental subdivision of the Reformed Church, it still is treated as Transylvania. Its center is Zilah (according to local pronunciation: Zilaj).

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4. FELFÖLD. -- The country above the Alföld, consisting of the northern mountain regions, as contrasted with the 'alföld /(low land)/' logically would be called 'Felföld /(highland)/' (1469: Paulus Felfudi, 1575: fel föld, Fel földi magyaroc NySz.), but actually this name, just like the name Felső-Magyarország /(Upper-Hungary)/ is of a literary origin; its more commonly used name being Felvidék /(Up-country)/. The inhabitants of the area do not include the whole of Upper-Hungary under this name, using it merely to designate, from place to place, the region lying 'upward', 'toward the mountains' from them. (In reverse, in a downward direction the following regions are designated as ' alvidékek' or 'alföldek /(lowlands)/'; even the shepherds of the Bodva Valley use the term Alföld in this manner.) 133 361

In the Felföld we find larger units of Magyar ethnic groups only at the middle and lower sections of rivers which run to the south. After leaving the lowlands of the Upper-Tisza, /18/ we find above Bodrogköz the famous region of Hegyalja; the people of which have been molded into a peculiar unit in many respects by its extensive viniculture and wine production; and even its surrounding environment has been influenced by the peculiar needs of its industry (for instance, the making of casks, wooden vessels, etc.). According to a hundred year old determination, the villages of the wine-growing Hegyalja 'wine-region' include the following: Szántó, 101 133 361

361 Golop, Tállya, Rátka, Ond, Mád, Zombor, Tarcal, Tokaj, Olaszi-Liszka, Erdőbénye, Tolcsva, Bodrog-Keresztur, Erdő-Horváthi, Zsadany, Olaszi, Sáros-Patak, Sátoralja-Ujhely, and Kis-Toronya. (The above list does not, in every respect, agree with the more recent economic determination of the area included in the so-called 'wine region' of Tokaj-Hegyalja.) More broadly described, the region covers the southeastern slope of the Sátor Mountains (Mountains of Eperjes-Tokaj), between the Bodrog and Hernád Rivers, in today's Zemplén and Abauj-Torna Counties.

101 The Magyar population of the area west of Hegyalja, the Hernád, Bodva, and Sajó valleys, and of the plains below the Bükk and Mátra mountains, and between the Eger and Tarna Rivers, together with the lower section of the Galga Valley and the formerly discussed Jászság, constitute in many respects a transitional chain of ethnic regions between the neighboring areas of the Palots groups and the people of the Alföld. These areas are the immediate 'alvidék'-s or 'alföld's /(lowlands)/'--to use the expressions popular in Heves and Borsod Counties--of the 'Felvidék', which has many characteristics of the Palots. Of these people the most characteristic groups are formed by the inhabitants of the three villages under the Bükk Mountains of Mezőkövesd, Tard, and Szentistván, who are called Matyó or Matyók (in plural Matyók-ok, CZUCZOR-FOG.), and known by their neighbors also as tartars. They may have acquired their name from the Cumanian-Hajdu Magyars, who used the Christian name Mátyás (like Istók, Bertók), or its Slovak form Matyó (like Janó; 1598: Johannes Mattho OSz.; 1787: Matyó MNy. X, 270) very frequently. The Reformed Magyars of the villages of Feketehegy in Bácska call the Roman Catholics or 'papists' mockingly by the 'Matyó' name. (In retaliation these people call the inhabitants of Feketehegy by the name 'Bunkó'.) The Matyos themselves explain their name by referring to the fables about King Mátyás /(Matthias)/.

Above these transitional regions we find the Palots group, which, despite its great masses, shows a remarkable unity in many respects. The word Palóc /(Palots)/ is a nickname, and the people do not like to hear it. The central region of the Palots land is the Mátra Area (roughly the onetime Country of Pata, extending further over the regions of the Börzsöny, Karancs, and Bükk mountains, more precisely over the area between the Ipoly and Sajó Rivers, which is divided--merely geographically--by the mountains and by the

Galga, Zagyva, Tarna, and Eger Rivers. The northern boundary 101
of the Palots region is marked linguistically by the Slovak language. The population of the area which may be classified on a geographical basis as Palots is known in literature as the people of Nógrád, Karancsalj, Mátravidék, Heves, Borsod, Gömör; their entity constituting the Eastern Palots Group. The inhabitants of the Erdőhát of Gömör, /19/ who show Palots characteristics, are called by a name similarly mocking in flavor: Barkó (1495: Emerico Barko OSz., like Matyó). Efforts to draw the precise boundaries of the Palots area by listing the names of the villages supposedly belonging to it cannot be taken seriously. Such determination can be made only upon a historical or political basis (Jazygian-Cumanians, the people of Őrség, Székelys, Hajdus); but such historical separation is no obstacle to exchange of cultural forms, even if certain prohibitions (such as the manner of dress) served the artificial isolation.

As we have said before, certain characteristics of Palots cultural forms may be found among the groups of people who live to the south and the east on the Alföld, and even more so among those inhabiting the mountain region to the west, which includes parts of Hont (huntyiak--v. o. Hunt-Pázmán--), Bars, and Nyitra Counties, even though writers native to the Palots region claim that the people of Hont are not Palots. We may summarily call the group west of Hont the Western Palots Group.

In the area of Duna-elve (1575: Dunaelue felső Magyar ország, 361
Heltai-krón. NySz.), which extends to the west above the Danube River, as a remnant of a political subdivision from the Middle Ages, the Mátyusföldje name and region has been preserved (1436: Mathiusfewldy; OSz.). Its name was derived from MÁTE CSÁK, Palatine, and Lord Lieutenant of Pozsony, who ruled the area as a rebellious oligarch (†1321). Today's Mátyusföldje consists roughly of the districts of Pozsony County lying above Csallóköz, the Galánta and Alsó-Nyitra districts, and the Udvard District of Komárom County (and perhaps the Párkány District of Esztergom County). The [101
inhabitants of Csallóköz call the people living between the Danube and Vág Rivers 'those of Mátyusföld'.

Where the mountain range of the Kis-Kárpátok /(Little- 133
Carpathians)/ divides Pozsony County in two, the foothill region that falls on this side, the southeastern side, is known as the fourth 'Hegyalja' of the country, called more precisely Hegyalatt (district of ecclesiastical subdivision); the area that falls on the

identical, and the only noticeable separating mark often is the 101
language.

The Magyar group (not Székely) is represented in all former counties, and in contrast to the Székelys, who formerly lived in a system of 'szék' and not of 'counties', they may be called 'the Magyars of the Counties'. More precisely they may be distinguished as the Magyars of Kolozs County, of Torda County, of Hunyad County, etc. These groups constitute a chain of sporadic islands, and already for this reason they form separate ethnic units in themselves, despite the fact that they do not possess a comprehensive name which is peculiar to them only. These smaller units which might be labeled with the name of their county are influenced largely, as to their ethnographical color, by economic conditions which result from their geographic position. Consequently, their material cultural forms are especially widely varied.

Erdély's largest geographical unit or area, extending over 361 ●
four counties, is Mezőség (1447: Poss. Mesezilwas CSÁNKI, V. 101
412), a hilly country without any forests, in the past hardly passable, located between the two Szamos, the Sajó, Luc-creek which empties into the Maros, the Maros, Tur-creek which empties into the Aranyos, and the Aranyos River. Its center is Uzdiszentpéter, where at one time the population of the entire Mezőség gathered in the summer when it held its famous fairs which lasted for two weeks. Its common ethnographical traits with the groups which are in contact with it, the Saxons, the Wallachians, the Magyars of the Szamos region, the Magyars of Kalotaszeg, and the Székelys, can readily be seen.

Erdély's most definitely separated larger Magyar (not Székely) group is represented by the population of Kalotaszeg (1474: Kalotazegh (község) CSÁNKI, V, 365), in Kolozs County, in the valleys of the Kalota, Sebes-Kőrös, Almás, and Nádaspatak, scattered in about forty villages. At onetime parts of the region belonged to the Bishopric of Várad, under the name of the Archdeanery of Kalota. To this group we may add the villages of Magyarléta, /21/ and Tordaszentlászló of Torda-Aranyos County, and Győrfalva east of Kolozsvár, which have the same appearance as the villages of the group. The center of this region is Bánffyhunyad. According to local determination it is divided into

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two parts: Felszeg and Alszeg.

Of the Magyars of Torda County two groups stand out strikingly, forming a separate unit, they are: Torockó and Totockószentgyörgy. The former, in earlier times enjoyed the privileges of a free 'city', the latter was a village of serfs. In the sixteenth century Torockó also lost its independent status and became privately owned. One of the oldest parts of its population came from Styria in the thirteenth century and mingled with the Magyars then living here. This group of German origin assimilated to the Magyars quickly during the Middle Ages; and it became part of the population of miners and 'craftsmen' in the iron industry, who prospered throughout the periods prior to the times of factory production, forming a close knit group withdrawn in their mountains, with a conservative attitude, and belonging to the Unitarian Church since the sixteenth century.

From among the other Magyars of the counties who live in island-like groups, we may mention the Magyar villages of Zselyk, Magyarnemegye, Nagysajó, Sófalva, Tacs of Beszterce-Naszód County; Domokos, Magyarlápos, Szék of Szolnok-Doboka County; Haró on the Maros River and Lozsád in Hunyad County; Hosdát, Rákosd, and Óraljboldogfalva around the fortress of Hunyad; Szakadát of Szeben County; Datk of Küküllő County; and the Magyar villages of the Hegyalja of Alsó-Fehér County, just as a few examples. Most of them are ethnographically completely unknown. Parts of Dés and Torda (New-Torda) have a population which had been settled by the princes of Erdély constituting a group of military origin, similar to the Hajdus.

We briefly mention two more Magyar groups of a more recent origin that also reside in Erdély: the Örmények /(Armenians)/ and the Magyars of Bözödújfalu who belong to the Jewish faith. The former group came from Moldavia during the seventeenth century, beginning in 1669, and settled in the largest numbers in the villages of Gyergyószentmiklós, Görgényszentimre, Felfalu, Petele, and Szépviz. Later, mainly as traders, they scattered over all the cities of Erdély. Their major stronghold is Szamosújvár which they built themselves in the eighteenth century on royal lands, in the place of the onetime village of Gerla. The Magyars of Bözödújfalu who follow the Jewish faith (Székelys) are the descendants of the Sabbatarians, who turned to the orthodox Jewish faith and adopted the customs of the Eastern-European Jewish groups.

Erdély's large closed unit, covering an area of serveral counties

Erdély's large closed unit, covering an area of several counties 36|
is the Székelyseg (1095: scicul MNy. XVII, 100), the sole represent-10|
atives of the first conquerors of Erdély. Its area is the Székelyföld (jokingly: Szikulia; its inhabitants called mockingly: Góbé, Székely Góbé, Löfö; 1353: lwhfew; Szék. Okl. I, 63; the Székelys themselves proudly accept these names). Their ancient grouping, similar to that of the Magyars, was a national ('nemzet') one. From the thirteenth century on, the consciousness of a national organization /22/ begins to fade, and its place is taken--under the influence of geographical factors--by an organization on a territorial basis (in the thirteenth century: Siculi terrae Sebus (Sepsi), Siculi de Kezd, universitas Siculorum de Telegd (Udvarhely)). Farther removed from the unbroken area of Udvarhely (anyaszék), Marosszék, Csik-szék, and Háromszék, on the banks of the Aranyos River reside the Székelys of Kézd, also descendants of the first conquerors, who received their estates in the thirteenth century from the lands belonging to the Fortress of Torda. The particular groups of the Székelys may be classified roughly on a historical (political) basis and according to their national areas, which were preserved through their system of 'szék'-s up to our days. The 'szék'-s ('sedes') as such developed during the fourteenth century. Here, as in some other Magyar areas, the earlier name of the 'szék' was 'comitatus' (1322: septem comitatus Sicolorum: 'the seven Székely széks'--not 'ispánság'). These seven széks which still exist in name are: Udvarhely, Maros, Csik, Sepsi, Kézdi, Orbai, and Aranyos; together they make up the 'Universitas Sicolorum septem sedium Siculicalium' (v.o. Universitas Saxonum: ' the Saxon Unit'). The 'Székely Lord Lieutenant' (1280: Comes Siculorum) appointed by the king stood at the top of the Székely unit; later this title was included with the king's other titles. Since the sixteenth century Udvarhely was mentioned to include Keresztúrfiszék (--Fiók-szék); and Csik to include Kászon and Gyergyó; and at the same time the name Háromszék appears to include Sepsi-, Kézdi-, and Orbai-széks, which area at this time is formed actually of 'four szék'-s, as Miklósvárszék, organized somewhat later than the rest also belongs to it. Later Udvarhely was completed by the addition of Bardóc-fiszék, which consists of nine villages.

The széks are forms of political, judicial, and military districts, as compared to the Hungarian counties and districts; however, their organization and officers are not identical with the latter.

361 101 The Székelys even today think of their own groups according to széks, thus the native szék of each person also shows the clan he belongs to. To signify his local origin, the Székely first names his szék, then his village, thus, 'from Udvarhelyszék, and from Etéd'.

The units which were traditionally formed into széks are traversed by geographical conditions and by the economic situation following them; as a result, we find an ethnographical stock of wide variety, especially with respect to material stock. The life of the Nyárádmente region of Marosszék or that of the fertile plains of Szépmező in Háromszék differs from the life of the subalpine villages of Csik located in a pine-forest belt.

361 /23/ The people of the area are also aware of these differences. The region of Rika's Forest in Udvarhelyszék is divided by the population under the names of Rikán-innen /(this side of Rika)/ and Rikán-túl /(other side of Rika)/. (Bardóc-fiszék developed in the Rikán-túl region.) Gyergyó is not merely a historically developed unit but an ideal one even geographically; it is a typical 'region' in which naturally peculiar ethnographical characteristics appear. The ancient names Fel-Csik and Al-Csik which were given to regions came into being in a similar way, and Kászonszék became independent partly on such basis, as it is separated from Kézdi-szék by the waters of the Kászon. On the other hand, Szépmező of Sepsi and the Barcaság region of Brassó (1211: terram Borza, 1218: terram de Burza, 1349: terrae Barza, MNy. XI, 242.) are almost identical geographically; nevertheless, their ethnographical picture shows considerable differences. Names of rivers are often used in region names, like Marosmente, Homoródvidéke. The Sovidek /(Salt region)/--described so well by its name--includes the villages of Sóvárad, Szováta, Parajd, Alsó-and Felső-Sófalva, Korond, and Atyha, forming a distinct region in the valleys of the Kisküküllő and Korond Rivers. The valley of the Olt River between Hidvég and Felsőrákos and the valley on the Barót creek is called Erdővidék /(Forest region)/. The name Szentföld /(Holy Land)/ used mockingly can be found in two places: where the Roman Catholic Székely villages, usually named after the Saints, border on Protestant (Reformed) villages. One of them is the highland of Nyárád around the Franciscan Monastery of Mikház, the other is the Roman Catholic area of Háromszék.

000 In the middle of the thirteenth century the traditional Székely

101 In the middle of the thirteenth century the traditional Székely groups were disturbed by a measure of a military nature which also affected their customs: the organization of the so called Székely Border Guards, which forced many of the freedom loving and rebellious Székelys of Csik to leave their homes and settle on foreign soil. In other places (like in Hajdusag, and example: Berettyóújfalu) similar movements divided the population socially: into 'those on the military side' and 'those on the serf side'.

• 361 101 At the beginning of nineteenth century (1. On LIPSZKY'S Map: Tabula generalis regni Hung. etc.) Erdély consisted of the following counties (comitatus): Hunyad, Zaránd, Kraszna, Közep-Szolnok, Belső-Szolnok, Doboka, Kolozs, Torda, Külsőlló, Alsó-Fejér; its regions were (districtus): Fogaras, Kővár; its Székely széks (sedes): Aranyos, Maros, Udvarhely, Csik, Háromszék; its Saxon széks (sedes): Kőhalom, Segesvár, Nagy-Sink, Meggyes, Újegyháza, Szeben, Szerdahely, Szász-Sebes, Szászváros; its Saxon regions (districtus): Beszterce, Brassó ('vulgo' Barcza).

If we disregard the latest bitter political changes, all disturbances ended with the dissolution of the széks during the reorganization of the counties in the 1870's and their division into counties. Villages of the former counties were placed into the Székely group (for instance, Oláhfalu which fell outside the eastern line of the Székely villages of Udvarhely at the foot of the Hargita Mountain, /24/ and Bereck, located in front of the Ojtoz-Pass, etc.); and Székely villages were embodied into the former counties, for instance, the greater part of Marosszék was incorporated into Maros-Torda County and the whole of Aranyosszék into Torda-Aranyos County.

According to old and fairly reliable sources the 'Székely' also lived outside the historical Székely area, in Pozsony, Nyitra, Győr, Komárom, Sopron, Vas, Somogy, Zala, Veszprém, Fejér, Tolna, Baranya, and Bihar counties; but their origin as traced to the Székely of Erdély has never been proved; in many places it is merely a designation of their occupation ('speculatores', forest rangers, etc.), just like the word 'blach' or 'blak' (Oláh, Wallachian) meaning mountain shepherd, exists also outside of Erdély.

101 The non-Székely Magyars who live in scattered groups near the land of the Székelys are summed up by the Székely people (and following them, by literature) under the name: Csángó. The non-Székely Magyars living to the north and west (the inhabitants of Mezőség and of the former Torda County) do not fall under this

101 name. The name, according to today's ethnographical interpretation, attempted to describe the Magyars degenerated from the Székelys, having a 'non-Székely', times when the Székely Border Guards were organized, moving after Bukovina's liberation from the Turkish occupation to their present location, and establishing there their villages. The portion of the Csangos of Moldva who live in the Tatros valley and at the mouth of the Beszterce River are of a Szekely origin, while the portion living along the Szeret River /25/ and between the Szeret and Prut Rivers comes from the 'Magyar' stock; they do not consider themselves Székely, but Magyars, and are also considered Magyars ('ungur') by the Rumanian speaking people of Moldavia and the Wallachians in general. A substantial number of the 'Magyars' of Moldavia have lost part of their ethnographical characteristics, including their language, and retained certain others from both categories: the material and intellectual kinds. They can easily be recognized and distinguished by their religion, which is Roman Catholic. Separated from Hungarian cultural development, living for centuries in a circle of Eastern-European and Byzantine culture, they constitute a Magyar group of Eastern-European character, preserving many ancient cultural elements, and from this point of view even more important than the other Magyar border groups.

101 361 Besides these groups, recently the Magyar population of the villages of Krizba, Barcaújfalu, and Apáca in Brassó County; Datk and Halmágy in Nagyküküllő County; Árapatak, Bodola, Előpatak, Erősd, Nyén (not Székely) in Háromszék County; Szakadát 'Oláh like /(Wallachian)/' appearance(for example, wearing their shirt tails on the outside). Thus, the name Csángó is actually a nickname (1401: Georgius Chango OSz.), which is rejected by the so-called Csangos themselves. The Csangos cannot be placed within one ethnographical unit because of the great distances between their present groups, and the lack of evidence that they had contact with each other at a prior time. Parts of them can be traced back to a Székely origin; others have an unknown origin, traceable no further than the Middle Ages.

In common knowledge and in literature four of their groups are better known: the Csangos of Hétfalu, of Gyimes, of Bukovina, and of Moldva. The group of Hétfalu in Brassó County consists of 'seven villages': Bácsfalu, Tűrkös, Csernátfalu Hosszúfalu; and somewhat removed from them: Tatrang, Zajzon, and Purkerec; all

of which seem to have a Székely origin, mainly from Háromszék. 101
The Csangos of Gyimes in Csik County (but not in 'Csik-Szék') 361
live in the scattered mountain settlements of Gyimesfelsőlok, Gyimesközéplok, and Gyimesbükk in the upper Tatros basin in front of the Gyimes-Pass, having their place of origin in Csik-Szék. The Csangos of Bukovina inhabiting the villages of Józseffalva, Andrásfalva, Hadikfalva, Fogadjisten, and Istensegits represent a people of Székely origin (mainly from Csik), who settled first in Moldavia at the rebellious in Szeben County; and Zsombor in Udvarhely County were designated under the name 'Csángó'.

A small portion of the Csangos of Bukovina returned to their homeland during the 1870's; their new settlements can be found in the following places: Déva (Vajdahunyad, Csernakeresztúr; Hunyad County), Gyorok (Arad County), Székelykeve (Temes County), Sándoregyháza, Hertelendyfalva (Totontál County).

The area of the 'seven villages' located under the mountains of the Tömös- and Bodza-Passes, and that of the recently mentioned villages of Brassó County is known as: Barcaság or the region of the Barca (according to local pronunciation Barsza) stream.

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9: Eppstein S-4 (no date) 1945 EC1 Hungary EC1

133 (highwaymen) and is still the wildest part of Hungary.

South of the Bakony lies Lake Balaton, the playground of Hungary, dotted with fishing boats and yachts and surrounded by villas and pensions. Thence to the Drave, which forms the frontier with Croatia, the country is green, open and undulating; the best part of Hungary for cattle and horse-breeding. To the east, near the Danube, rise a few more high hills, where Hungary's largest coal deposits are found. To the west, the country rises gradually, and becomes more tangled as it approaches the borders of Styria—one of the remotest corners of Hungary, seldom visited even by Hungarians, and preserving many ancient national characteristics and customs. Finally, in the north-west corner, the Rába, winding its way in many channels through a flat valley to join the Danube, forms an open space known as the 'Little Plain' (Kis Alföld).

361 All this country, although still somewhat primitive to Western eyes, bears the signs of ancient cultivation. There are many small towns, most of them founded by Germans (who long formed the chief urban class in Hungary) and some containing fine buildings of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and in a few cases, of earlier date. Sopron (Oedenburg), near the Austrian frontier, Pécs, with its ancient cathedral and Esztergom with its modern one, and Székesfehérvár, the oldest capital of the country, are the most interesting. None of these towns, however, is big and most of the population lives in villages, usually of 3–4000 inhabitants. The village is usually com-

9: Eppstein S-4 (no date) 1945 EC1 Hungary EC

posed of only three or four streets, sometimes only one. The little white cottages stand along it at regular intervals; only in old villages where families have multiplied and land is short, one site will contain three or four cottages crowded together. All the cottages are usually much of a size, except for the houses of the village priest, the schoolmaster and the notary. The older cottages are built of sun-dried brick, and thatched; the newer ones are of fired brick, and often roofed with the uglier but more healthy material known as 'eternit'. Most villages also contain one or more larger houses, the houses of the local squires or, as they call themselves (by the English word) 'gentry'. Every third or fourth village boasts a larger 'castle', the seat of the local 'magnate', prince, count or baron so-and-so. Sometimes these 'castles' face right on to the village street; more often they are set back in rather dusty parks. Each has a portico in front of it, with a coat of arms carved on the architrave; but like the cottages, they are usually one-storied and, like them, usually end at the back in farm buildings.

West Hungary is a pleasant country, in places well wooded and, although no hedges divide the fields, the sunken, dusty farm tracks, like deep Devonshire lanes, are often enclosed with acacias which meet over the head. A reasonable rainfall comes from the west, giving good crops, and the southern slopes of the hills are clothed with vineyards yielding a wine which is light (not so light as it seems) but very palatable. The country is essentially rural and the population has long been almost stationary; in many places, indeed, the

9: Eppstein S-4 (no date) 1945 EC1 Hungary EC1

peasants have, to the great but ineffectual concern of the authorities, aimed at having only one child in order to keep their holdings intact, for by Magyar custom a farm is divided equally among its owner's children on his death. The German colonists, on the other hand—the Swabians—pass on their heritage undivided, usually to the youngest son, while the remainder seek their fortunes in the towns. This is certainly one reason why the Swabians prosper more than the Magyars. Their superior neatness, diligence and sobriety is, it must be confessed, another and not less potent reason.

The Swabians are to be found in some strength in the Bakony region, in the south-east, near Pécs (a region devastated by the Turks, recolonized and known by the Germans as 'Swabian Turkey'), and on the very outskirts of Buda.

BUDAPEST. Buda itself, the western half of the twin capital of Budapest, was once a typical German-Hungarian town, although containing also a quarter, now demolished, which was the home of Serbian merchants. Here stood the old Royal Palace, the Cathedral and also the winter palaces of the Hungarian nobles. Later, the new palace and most of the new Government buildings, the Ministries, etc., were built there. Buda, before destruction overtook it, was still rather an old-fashioned place, administrative rather than commercial or industrial. It stands on a steep hill, with a fine outlook over the Danube, Pest and the great plain beyond. Behind Buda hill, the wooded valleys were covered with modern villas, the homes of civil servants and clerks.

9: Eppstein S-4 (no date) 1945 EC1 Hungary EC1

Pest faces it. It had a fine façade of fashionable hotels and cafés. Behind these the great city stretched out, first in a dense commercial quarter, then in an endless string of dreary factory suburbs. The whole city, including the satellite towns of 'Greater Pest', had a population of well over a million. It had some fine modern buildings, as well as some very ugly ones, but little that was worth seeing.

THE ALFÖLD. Beyond the outskirts of Pest begins the Alföld—the Great Plain proper of Hungary, an enormous expanse cut in two by the sluggish waters of the Tisza, but possessing few other natural features and, in the main, as flat as Norfolk. It is the home of everything that is commonly regarded as most characteristic and most romantic in Hungarian life. On its empty horizons the Fata Morgana (the Hungarian 'délibab') dances when the sunshine is hot. On such of the empty spaces as have not yet been put under the plough, the old Hungarian life may still be seen. Enormous herds of the ancient Hungarian cattle, which tradition avers the old Magyars to have brought with them from the East—lean, grey beasts, with huge horns and dark, gentle eyes—roam the plains in the charge of wild cowboys (*csikos*) in elaborate sheepskin cloaks. There are plains where the great bustard breeds and marshes haunted by the stork, the crane, the egret and all manner of exotic wild fowl. But in the main, the old life is dying out; where it is still preserved, as on the famous Hortobágy, west of Debreczen, it is chiefly as a museum piece, for the benefit of tourists. Most of the country has been brought under normal cultivation.

9: Eppstein S-4 (no date) 1945 EC1 Hungary EC1

As such, its aspect—even apart from the monotony of the landscape—is less attractive than that of West Hungary. The effects of the Turkish rule, which turned populous cultivated areas into desolate wastes, are still visible. The survivors from the villages ravaged by the Turks took refuge in the towns such as Szeged, Debreczen, Kecskemét, Szabadka or Hódmezövásárhely, which swelled into enormous conglomerations, villages on the huge scale, each with one or two larger buildings in its centre and round them miles and miles of straight village streets, muddy in winter, dusty in summer, lined with row after row of uniform, white one-storied cottages. Between one town and its neighbour, perhaps 30 miles distant, the whole countryside would be left empty. Gradually, as security returned, the people ventured out. At first they built only rude shelters, *tányas*, in which the men passed the summer, returning in winter to the towns, where they had left the women, children and old people. Presently the *tányas* were made permanent and developed into regular farms, so that in this part of Hungary there are no villages, but only the few great towns and between them the scattered *tányas*, whose isolation is rendered more complete by the almost impossible state of the roads in spring and autumn.

The climate, too, is unfriendly. The summer is often exceedingly dry, and the whole country seems then to dissolve into a cloud of dust. On the other hand, the spring, when the snows melt in the mountains where the Tisza and its tributaries have their head-waters, often brings disastrous floods which cover the fields and sweep away the

9: Eppstein S-4 (no date) 1945 EC1 Hungary EC1

565 It is clear that Hungary cannot emerge from the catastrophe of the present war without radical alterations of its country life.

668 365 **THE MOVEMENT FOR AGRARIAN REFORM.** There have, indeed, already been considerable changes in the last few years. Not only has the Government begun to take more interest in the villagers and farm labourers, but all Hungarian society has woken up to the fact that there was here a very neglected and miserable class, making up one-third of the whole population of the country. A group of young men went round the villages and described conditions, just as Charles Kingsley did for England a century ago, in a way which made everyone uneasy. The peasants and labourers themselves began to organize and to get into touch with other classes, particularly the socialists in the towns, and before March 1944, when the German occupation set everything back again, a strong political movement was growing up for land distribution, better conditions of work and more political freedom generally. The leaders of this movement were imprisoned by the Germans and their puppets; but, as soon as the latter were driven out, it was certain that the whole movement would spring up again and that no one would be able to stop it. In fact, the peasant leaders were prominent among the men who, as described below, set up a new government at Debreczen at Christmas 1944.

369 361 **THE LIFE OF THE VILLAGE.** Meanwhile, life in a Hungarian village is quiet enough. Where there is a 'big house', it is the centre of things, even for

9: Eppstein S-4 (no date) 1945 EC1 Hungary EC1

those villagers who are not the tenants or dependents of the landlord. Outside the 'big house' probably only the priest's and the schoolmaster's houses stand out a little from the rest. Even a big village may have no shop; the villagers buy what they need on their weekly visit to the local market town. There is, probably, an inn, but it is not much frequented, since each family makes its own wine. By day, during most of the year, the street is almost deserted; all the men are out in the fields, perhaps miles away. They come home in the evening, when the animals also are driven in, and for half an hour the whole place wakes up. Later, men and women sit on benches outside their doors, or in the street, under the acacias, smoking and talking. On Sunday they sit there all day, except when they are in the church.

It is a hard, monotonous life. It is monotonous even for the inhabitants of the 'big house', who are usually much poorer than they let anyone guess and often spend their lives with no bigger distraction than a little shooting or a drive over the bumpy mud roads to visit a neighbour, who is most likely also a cousin or a brother-in-law, five miles away. For the peasants, a wedding, a religious procession or a harvest festival are the great events of the year. A hard life, but not without its own charm. Few people know the Hungarian countryside. But if they do penetrate there, they will be received by landlord or by peasant, with much kindness and hospitality, and with the perfect courtesy and unfailing dignity which is equally the mark of the Hungarian gentleman and of the most ragged, barefooted Hungarian peasant.

9: Eppstein S-4 (no date) 1945 EC1 Hungary EC1

of some importance; but there is nothing in Hungary approaching a continuous industrialized belt or a 'Black Country'.

The Hungarian towns outside Budapest have not much to them. A few of them, particularly in West Hungary, have some nice old buildings, dating from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Most of these towns were founded by German immigrants, and the population of them still spoke German until recent years. But in the main the Hungarian provincial town is a small, sleepy, rather slatternly place, which is still very much a part of the surrounding country. In the very centre there will be a few public buildings, a church or two, perhaps a hotel and may be a modern block of business offices. But in the side streets all the houses are one-storied, many of them standing in little gardens. The real centre of every town is its great market-place, in which, most mornings of the week, peasant women squat on the ground, surrounded by piles of fruit and vegetables or geese and poultry with their legs tied together. Once a week there is a larger market, to which the peasants come in from the whole countryside, distances of ten, fifteen or twenty miles. Then the whole square is packed with them, and with the little stalls on which the shopkeepers spread out the cheap goods, cloths, haberdashery or household implements, which they sell to the peasants. The real business of the week is done on market-day in the market; the peasant rarely enters a shop.

THE CAPITAL. Budapest was, so far as Hungary is

9: Eppstein S-4 (no date) 1945 EC1 Hungary EC1

369 concerned, a world by itself. Although the country priests railed at its vices, nearly the whole nation was intensely proud of it, and its visitor is certain to be deluged with descriptions of its past beauties, mingled with lamentations over the dreadful sufferings inflicted on it as the tide of war has swept
• 361 over it. Something has already been said of its
369 beautiful situation on the two banks of the Danube: Buda, with its royal palace, its cathedral and its public buildings, stands on the high hill overlooking its western bank with wooded hills covered with villas and gardens, behind; Pest, sprawls out on the eastern bank, with vast suburbs running out onto the dusty Alföld. Half a dozen bridges linked the two, the most famous being the celebrated Suspension Bridge, built a century ago by the Scot, Adam Clark. The next above it, the Margaret Bridge, blown up in the autumn of 1944, gave access to the famous Margaret Island, the playground of the well-to-do of Budapest, with hotels, cafés, swimming baths, gardens and tennis and polo grounds.

Pest is the modern city, in which those who wanted it could find everything which a big modern town has to offer: shops, and restaurants, cafés and night-clubs, and also very excellent museums, picture galleries and libraries. Buda is much smaller and was quieter, but contained a multitude of small inns and restaurants with pleasant gardens, which were the favourite resorts of the people of Budapest.

369 The average Hungarian of the city took a great
517 many of his meals in restaurants, and was fond of spending long evenings, especially in the summer, where it was possible to sit in the garden or court-

10: Viski E-4, 5 (no date) 1932 EC1 Hungary EC

Girl markets

443 583 Marriegeable girls — in a literal translation from the Hungarian «girls for sale» — were always plentiful in Hungary, and there is no lack of them at present either. There have always been girl markets, and there still are to-day, although one Hungarian man could only buy one girl, even in ancient times, at least according to the rules and laws which prevailed in those days. In speaking of girl markets, we naturally do not think of genteel balls and other social gatherings and opportunities of meeting people; but of the markets and fairs where the common people had a chance of getting acquainted and where in olden days the purchase of a woman was made as quickly as that of any other desirable object.

443 583 563 Especially in those parts of pre-Trianon Hungary which were inhabited by different nationalities there have been, and perhaps still are, well known girl markets. After the devastations of the Mongol raid and the Turkish occupation, Southern Slavs and Roumanians poured into Hungary from the Balkans and Ruthenians came in from Galicia. These newcomers mostly settled in families on cleared patches of forest land, and down to our own days they hardly ever formed real villages. This was especially the case with Ruthenians and the Vlachs. The inhabitants of these scattered settlements hardly ever came into touch with each other; at the best of times just the nearest neighbours knew one another. Once or twice a year they gathered to exchange goods and therefore arranged a market. These markets were also opportunities for getting acquainted. The «popa» (their priest) was also near at hand and the lad who, besides the many attrac-

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10: Viski E-4, 5 (no date) 1932 EC1 Hungary EC1

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Let's go away from here,
We may get a hiding!
No, let's not go
Until the violins are playing!
Bring wine for the Hungarians,
Brandy for the Slovaks,
Beer for the Germans!

The grapes ripen in a dry summer and a long, mild autumn: they take a long time to grow and ripen, and in every part of the country they can boast a different fame and quality. There are as many kinds of wine as there are Hungarian dialects: it has as many colours as Hungarian peasant costumes, it has as many tastes, flavours, bouquets as Hungarian songs or Hungarian tunes. Its effect and strength surprise one like the beauty of Hungarian shepherd carvings or embroideries.

Every peasant vineyard, even if only half an acre in [343] size, has its own cellar built into a hill, before which is a porch with a fireplace. People go there very frequently to sit about, roast bacon, drink a few glasses of wine and smoke. In some places whole villages grow up in the [361] vineyards, called hill-villages. Their laws are even more strict than those of the other villages. And strictest of all are the laws observed during the gathering of the grapes. Those who behaved badly at a «szüret» were in ancient times sent back to the bosom of Abraham: that is to say, they were removed from amongst the living. People were not even allowed to swear in the vineyards. In olden times even justice was stayed at the time of the gathering of the grapes. Though it was never admitted, yet in fact even Mohamed's prohibition of strong drink was ignored during the Turkish occupation, those 250 years during which the Turks came in contact with Hungarian wine, — years which had such a disastrous influence on the advance of Hungarian

[pp. 1-2 contain no textual material]

361 511 Ferenc Gergely, an iron worker, is a resident of Budapest. He lives in the XIIIth district of the Hungarian capital, at No. 1 Peace Avenue. Not quite a decade ago, this part of the city was just a sorely neglected suburb. Ferenc Gergely himself was hardly able to keep body and soul together when he moved here sometime during the years between the two world wars. He remembers it very vividly: His entire wealth, everything portable which belonged to him, found ample room in the small hand-cart he and his wife pulled along the shabby suburban streets.

Much has changed since then. Ferenc Gergely's life has changed, and so have the lives of hundreds of thousands of his fellow workers; the face of this onetime shabby suburb has changed, and so has the face of the entire town, the entire country.

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Ferenc Gergely, lathe operator.

Instead of their former crowded and dirty subleased room, Ferenc Gergely and his family now occupy a modern two-room apartment in one of the workers' apartment houses recently built on Peace Avenue. The rooms are large and bright, the kitchen roomy and attractive, the bathroom tiled and sparklingly clean. There is a pantry and a nice little foyer, central heating in the winter and

362 hot water all through the year. Three days wages pay for the monthly rent and not quite two days wages for the heating and hot water.

From the balcony of the apartment you can look along the whole street, which, only a short while ago, was a sorry sight with its empty lots and wartorn, crumbling buildings. The ruins and scrap-iron yards have been cleared away, and today beautiful new apartment buildings stand in their place, proclaiming that Ferenc Gergely and his Hungarian fellow workers have rebuilt their houses, their towns, their fatherland.

361 The broken cobble-stones have disappeared, and comfortable busses coast along the smooth, asphalt road. In the evenings the streets are alight with electric arc-lamps

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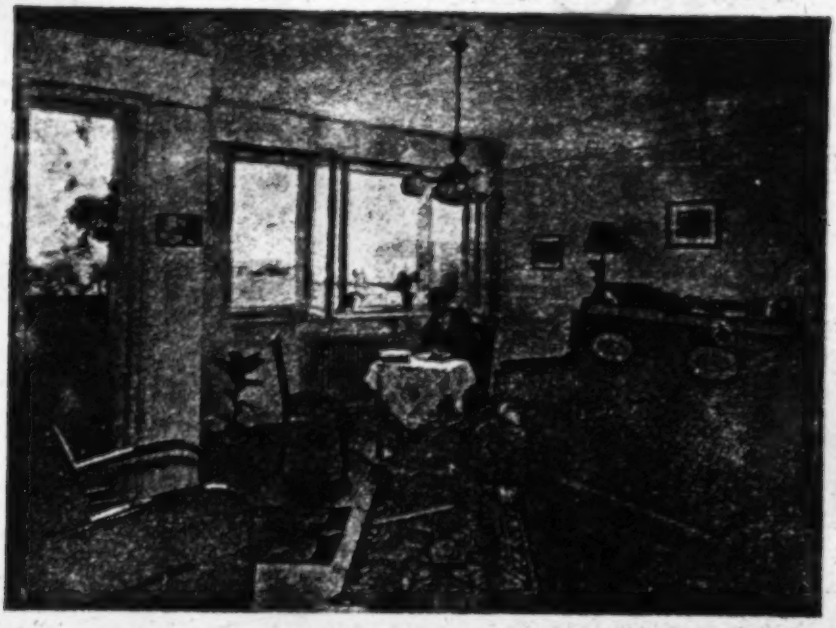
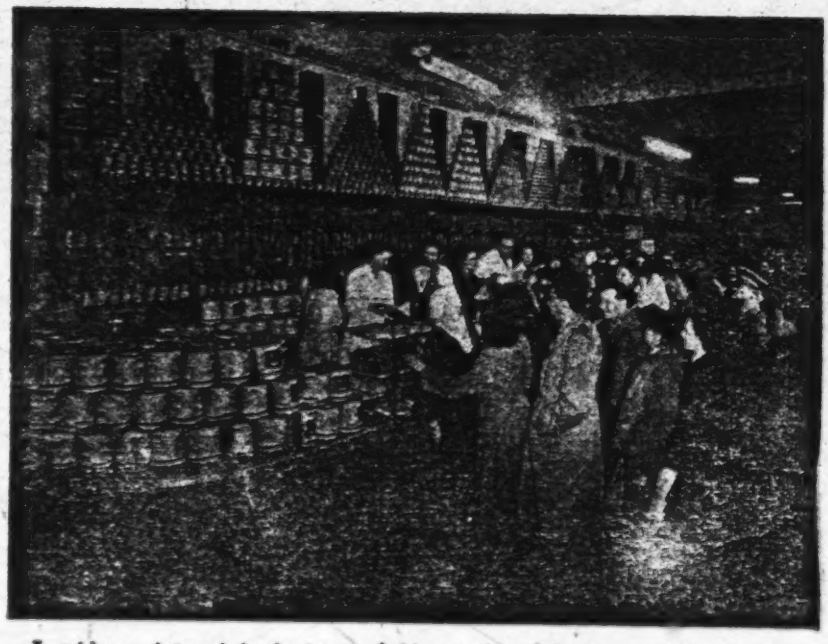


The living room of Ferenc Gergely's two-room apartment.



A wide variety of foods is available at the state store which is open day and night. This is where Mrs. Gergely does her shopping.

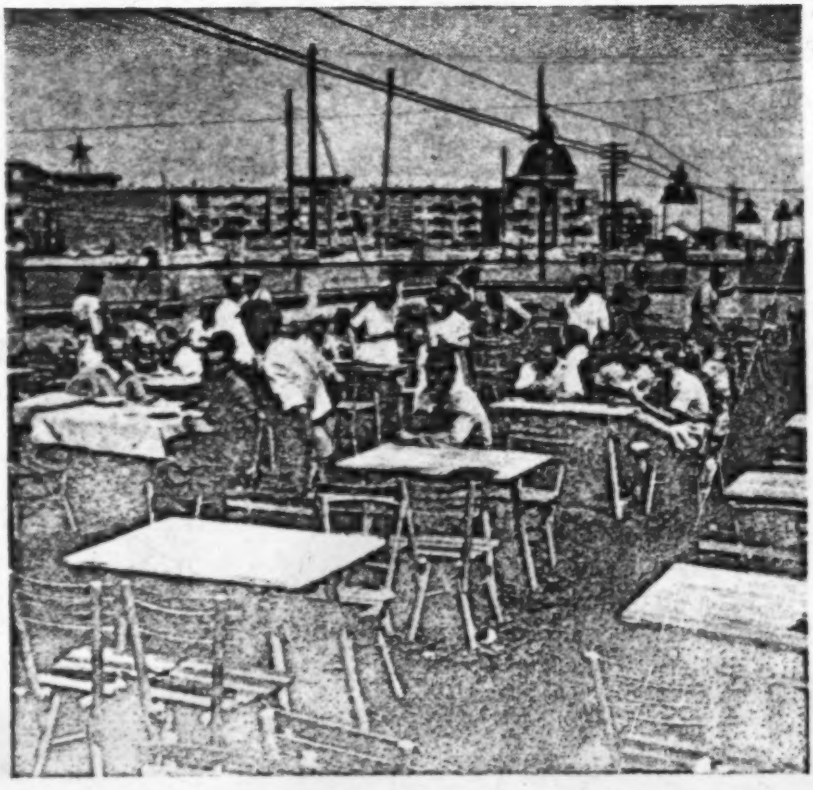
which have taken the place[1] of the old, dim gas lamps. In the past a miserable grocer eking out a dreary existence in a dark basement shop and a smoke-filled pub represented commercial life in the street; today brand-new stores with brilliant show-windows line the street, and the housewives can do all their shopping within a range of two hundred yards. The new district clinic of the social security institute under the management of the trade unions was recently opened in the next street, and the entire next block is taken up by the new school. There are two movies just around the corner, and the nearest theater is not more than ten minutes from there. The district inhabited by the Gergely family and twenty to thirty thousand other Hungarian families is no longer one of which the capital need be ashamed but has become one of its flourishing, lively, healthy quarters.

And, to come back to the Gergely family, if they should

[1] [i.e. in District XIII, Budapest --Analyst]

what else. Of the 400 members of Parliament over 70 are women and so are almost one third of the council members.

Arriving at the terminal Ferenc Gergely takes leave of his friend and goes home. At home a guest is waiting for him: his best friend, his son's godfather, Jozsef Magyar, a mason. Jozsef Magyar works in Stalintown on the construction of the Stalin Iron Works, in the new socialist town which is to be larger than Csepel and will offer thirty to thirty-five thousand workers bread and work, security and a peaceful life.



Outdoor dining area in Stalintown, where lunches are served in the summer.

793 The Bishops took the oath of allegiance to the Republic and
659 also appealed to parishes to offer some of their church lands to
794 the State. On its side the State also took action and on July 3 the Presidential Council passed a decree, to be retrospective in its effects as far back as January 1, 1946, to the effect that Archbishops, Titular Bishops, Bishops, Suffragan Bishops, Abbots-in-Chief, Abbots and Provincials of Monastic Orders could only be appointed on Hungarian territory with the prior assent of the Presidential Council.

659 The rebuilding of churches has continued steadily and, in
794 addition to that, new churches are being built in the entirely new
[36] towns and villages which are the fruit of Hungary's planned
[214] development. Equally striking is the continued growth of church publications and in this field the appearance of the first volumes both of the Old Testament and of the New, of the new translation of the Bible, a new Hungarian-Greek New Testament dictionary, a new Lutheran Psalter and the first translation into Hungarian of Luther's smaller catechism, are outstanding.

The peace movement within the churches grows all the time. The Catholic Priests' Peace Committee, now officially supported by the Bishops, holds ever larger conferences and now has the support of a majority of the churches. The Protestant Churches constitute more and more a challenge to the present direction of Western Christianity in general and the World Council of Churches in particular.

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Bishop Lajos Vető asks all religious people to work for peace.